4.00 P.M.

payable by the Railway undertaking to General Revenues, etc., which was laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on 21st December, 2004."

The motion was adopted.

Discussion on the working of the Ministry of Defence

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up discussion on the working of the Ministry of Defence. Shri Anand Sharma will initiate the discussion.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise here to initiate the discussion on the working of the Ministry of Defence. This is a subject of great importance for the country's security and defence. At the outset, I would like to say that this was one issue which needed to be discussed when the Opposition was here but it has chosen to remain absent. They are abstaining when the national matters pertaining to defence and security are discussed. It is demonstrative of their non-serious approach towards this subject, whether they were in Government or now in Opposition. It would have been better for us if we were in a position to put some questions, the questions which have been agitating the minds of our people not only inside the Parliament but outside also on certain matters, certain decisions of yesteryears. I shall be referring to some of those during the course of my submission. I would like to thank the hon. Defence Minister for having taken up the cause of the three Services and for giving desired importance to defence preparedness especially modernisation and capital acquisition. It has been after a long gap that Defence received the desired and correct attention. For years there was and indifferent approach and the demand of the three servies were ignored. After the change of Government, when the UPA Government assumed office it had fulfilled one assurance which was there in our vision documents. There was an increase in the allocation. Last year, for Defence. The hon. Minister also ensured that unlike the previous years, the amount allocated was utilised. This year we note that there has been a small increase and Rs. 83,000 crores have been allocated. But this increase in my view is not adequate and does not mean the projected minimal demands of the three services. I do understand and appreciate the constraints, especially when it comes to making available the resources and the funds. But I must mention, Sir, that over the last few years there has been a decline in the funds which have been allocated for Defence. As a

result, the modernization process has suffered a set back. Though there is a perception that India is spending, when we talk of Rs. 83,000 crores it is a huge amount. The money which is actually available for capital expenditure for modernization and capitalisation is much, much less, it is about Rs. 35,000 crores. And in the percentage terms of GDP, when we look at the figures, the Defence allocation has been declining constantly and in the case of India it is less than what our immediate neighbours are spending whether it is Pakistan or China. It is much more in the GDP terms. In the case of India it has come down to 2.6 per cent. This is one area which needs to be looked into if we have to continue both with the modernisation as well as indigenisation process, that is Defence research. The agencies under the Defence Ministry have done commendable work, I must say whether it is the DRDO in the development of new systems and the organisations under the Defence Ministry especially HAL, BEML and also our ship building facilities. Sir, there are two critical issues in the context of allocation of funds and the utilisation of funds which need to be referred to. First, the non-finalisation of the Tenth Plan has to be viewed seriously. Most of the period of the Tenth Plan has already lapsed and we do not have the Plan really. We therefore, request the hon. Defence Minister to ask his Ministry to take steps to finalise the Eleventh Plan at least, that too a year in advance so that what happened during the Tenth Plan is not repeated. Linked to the Tenth Plan non-finalisation is also the story of non-utilisation or the surrendering of funds. Sir, money was surrendered for three successive years! In 2001-2002, Rs. 5,000 crores was surrendered by the Minisry of Defence. In 2002-03, the figure reached Rs. 9,000 crores. And another Rs. 5,000 crores was surrendered the next year. That means, a total of Rs. 19,000 crores, which we earlier thought was not utilised, which did impinge on, which did undermine, the Defence preparedness, was, actually, to be surrendered by the Ministry of Defence on demand from the Ministry of Finance to meet its Budget deficit. This is something which is unheard of. Even when money had been allocated for three successive years—when we were told that there would be no compromise with the Defence preparedness, especially post-Kargil period—this thing had happened. This would have a long-term effect on the modernisation and acquisition plans of all the three Services. When we are taking steps towards self-reliance and indigenisation, as I was referring to the good work which the DRDO and other agencies have done, we also have to look into the delay of some of the projects, especially the MBT which took a long-time. Now, the Arjun Tank is there. But the issue now is about the placement of orders. What we note is that the orders have been placed only for 124 Tanks. The efforts which have

gone in all these years and the resources which have gone in for research, development and production should be put to optimum use. Same is the concern about the LCA. Though we do understand that for any country to acquire the latest technology to produce sophisticated aircraft does take time. Especially when the effort is an indigenous one, but the delay is a long one. Every time, the projected year is pushed back. The Kaveri Engine, we are told that we are on the verge of development. We will be able to use it for the LCA. The day that happens, it would be a very proud day for us. And, it is an achievement of the HAL which will be acknowledged with happiness by the country. There is also a delay when it comes to construction of Air Defence Ship for the Indian Navy. I will refer this issue—Air Defence Ship--and the various projects, which have to be taken up for the Navy, in the later part of my speech and they also deserve urgent attention. For Navy, there is a projected requirement of three aircraft carriers. We have presently one—Virat. The second one would come in 2008. We have informed this through this Report. The name of the aircraft carrier is Admiral Gorshkov It would join the Indian Navy after its refit in 2008. And, by the time it arrives, soon it would be time for decommissioning of the one which we have. And the Air Defence Ship, as per the projected year now and we hope that they adhere to it, will come by 2012. Here I must say that the construction of air defence ship by India will be yet another milestone in our shipbuilding capacity. It is being manufactured at Cochin and the work is progressing it is going to be, what we are told, a very sophisticated ship. I would like to mention here that the capacity which we have; the capability which we have; the technical knowledge which we have for the construction of ships, especially the warships and the submarines, is also, again, not put to optimum use. Especially the submarines have been lying idle at the Mazgaon Docks. A decision needs to be taken for the indigenous construction of submarines, when we know about the acquisition by those who can be potential adversaries. And, the desired force level, or, the minimum force level, the benchmark that we have set for the Navy should be adhered to because with Navy also the same thing would happen. Like the aircraft carrier, there are many warships which would be decommissioned. We were told that, now, we have almost 50 ships, under construction, in India. That in itself is a statement of our capability and the technical knowledge.

Sir, as far as the Army is concerned, there are many issues which have come up and which need to be commented upon. The first and foremost is about, again, the acquisition and modernisation process, not the routine purchases. For the last two decades we have not taken any decision which would meet the demands of the Army for new weapon systems,

especially the artillery, the three versions of artillery, whether it is the track tract system, where we are informed that eventually the DRDO has succeeded in using the Arjun Tank chassis and getting the turret, but for the toad, for the wheel, still no decisions have not been taken so far. It was in mid -80s that we had acquired the best artillery system of that time, and even today acknowledged it is to be one of the best, that is , the Bofors. At that time the Government was maligned. The purchase was questioned. The quality of the gun was adversely commented upon. And, when this gun was first put to use in the Battle of Kargil, where its lethal effect was demonstrated, those who had hurled acquisitions, misled the country, demoralised the Army by saying that a bad weapon system had been brought, were the first one to jump and say that this was the best weapon. And, the Bofors was the most effective in Kargil. But we have to realise what it did. Since then all the other requirements have not been met. I may like to draw the attention of the hon. Defence Minister to another aspect, when we are talking of the Army requirements and new systems for the wheel version. For years, the Army has been asking for the self-propelled guns. The army has been asking for it. And what I find very strange, Sir, is that threre were eleven identified manufacturers all over the world. And, the Government did receive proposals from five vendors. Of these, four were rejected straightaway, giving the ground of technical evaluations. There were no trials. And, a single-vendor situation was created. So, out of eleven, five make the offer and the four are summarily rejected and only one is left, and that one is the Denel of South Africa. One can understand that to meet the needs of the Army or the Armed Forces, the best system has to be acquired, and that too after intensive and extensive trials in all conditions. But this was not the chosen course of action. And, we are re-assured that this Government and the Ministry of Defence have stopped that when this was brought to the attention of the Government. Once again, there would be competitive bidding. Sir, the single vendor system should be discouraged, it should be the last option because the single-vendor preference raises many questions. That's true. It should be only in those cases where there is only one manufacturer of a particular system or ammunition. But if there is more than one, then, all should be given an opportunity . And, mainly on the ground of technical qualification, those who meet the qualitative requirements of the concerned service of the force, should be given opportunities.

Sir, post-Kargil, a lot of acquisitions, defence purchases, were made. The rules of 1992 or the guidelines were revised. Though the Kargil conflict

effectively ended in July, 1999, but the orders were placed after the conflict had ended. One can understand the need of the Government to revise the guidelines for purchases or acquisitions to meet emergency needs and also to have critical reserves. So, the issue is not of guidelines or the rules, but whether those guidelines were followed or violated? At the same time, the quality and the cost at which purchases were made has come under a scanner. There has been a scrutiny by the Comptroller and Auditor General. The report of 2001 is there. I was going through this report. There are many observations, almost 35 paragraphs. And, this is the CAG report No. 7A of 2001. Para 4.4 deals with Anti-Material rifles. "That a contract was concluded in July, 1999, again with Denel of South Africa, for supply of 100 Anti-Material rifles and one lakh rounds of ammunition even though it fell short of the range specified in the GQSR by 24 per cent. and there was no assurance regarding performance." This is a very serious matter because there have been news reports pertaining to this very weapon which has emanated from South Africa. When this was done, there was not only a single vendor, but there was 12.75 per cent. commission, which was paid to Varas Associates, a Company incorporated in the Isle of Man. We would like the Government to find out how it happened, what is the identity of the beneficiaries, and who are the people behind this company called Varas Associates. I can understand why our friends who are absent, unfortunately, do not wish to participate in this discussion, are squirming because they have today sought to question even the very need or justification for any probe or any inquiry. But this is one issue which must come on record. This is one issue which must be probed and all those who are responsible for it should be identified and named, the due process of law should follow and it should take its own course.

Sir, from the Comptroller and Auditor General's Report, there is one more shocking revelation about the ammunitions, which were procured under the garb of post-Kargil acquisitions or for 'Operation Vijay.' It is not that most of them arrived much later after the cessation of hostilities. But as per the DGQA guidelines, there is a prescribed shelf life of ammunition. And the shelf life is for seven years. The orders were placed in 1999. And in all those cases, which have been identified by the Comptroller and Auditor General's report, for which there was a silence until May, 2004. Those who were committed to the defence preparedness, probity, transparency in purchases; the former Defence Minister in the previous Government, they acquired or allowed acquisition of ammunitions for our Defence Forces, for our Army, where the shelf life had expired. In one case, the shelf life had expired in 1992. In another case, the Fuses, they

had expired in 1986 and 1987. In 1999, there were DGQA guidelines for shelf life of seven years and we purchased ammunition of 1976 vintage! It was that ammunition which we bought for the Armed Forces. This was what the Comptroller and Auditor General of India was constrained to comment. So, what kind of defence preparedness was this? They are playing with the lives of our soldiers by getting this kind of ammunition and, at the same time, squandering scarce resources. As I said, Sir, it is a question of both quality and cost. These were purchased at very high prices compared to the prices that were prevailing in the international market.

Sir, this report also points out that even the revised guidelines or procedures, which were there in 1999, were violated. Now, this is the issue which has come up in the public domain. There is a debate in the media and there is also one case, as I understand, before the Supreme Court of India, a Public Interest Litigation, where the Government of India is a respondent. Now, in recent weeks, there was this talk about the affidavit which the Government has filed, and also a supplementary affidavit. Some confusion was created in the country, and it was alleged and claimed by those who presided over the Ministry of Defence during the previous regime's time that the affidavits are contradictory and that these two affidavits lead to confusion. Sir, I had the opportunity to go through the details and what I find, that not only the claims and the accusations are highly misleading, but also incorrect. The confusion first started with the former Defence Minister going to town on the fifth of April and making a claim that 'I have been given a clean-chit.' And, what I have just read Sir, clean-chit of what. I have just read a few portions of the CAG report, the indictment; the report itself is a telling comment on the functioning of their Defence acquisition system at that time. But the confusion was created with this, and the media followed it that 'a clean-chit has been given'. There is no clean-chit which I find, Sir, from the affidavits. The first affidavit which was filed by the Government gives details of some of the cases which have been referred to in the CAG and CVC Reports and the status of that. And, it was in the court from what I find that the *amicus curae* had pointed out that the affidavit did not contain all those cases which were referred to in the CAG report, which necessitated on the advice of the court, on the demand of the court that a supplementary affidavit may be filed. And that was an assurance which was given to the Supreme Court on the 14th of March itself by the learned Attorney-General. And after that, the supplemenatry affidavit is filed. Now, the picture which was given a distorted one that there is conflict, there is confusion and there is contradiction. The

second affidavit reiterates the contents of the first affidavit itself and gives additional information, and this is not a new practice. The practice of filling supplementary affidavits is common. Those who have any understanding of the functioning of the High Courts and the Supreme Court know it. So, the entire confusion—and I must place this on record—was deliberately created by the former Defence Minister to mislead the nation and also to divert attention from those scams and scandals which needed to be probed, because when this affidavit controversy was created, almost at the same time, a few days later, the Denel Gun started firing through the newspapers of South Africa and the bullets were reaching the Isle of Man company, and here we had this gentleman, the former hon. Defence Minister, saying that 'he has a clean-chit'. When all this has yet not been investigated, I have never heard of such a situation that before a probe, the vindication is there. Yes, it was done, Sir. I am very saddened to point it out. It was done at a time when an Inquiry Commission was set up to enquire into the *Tehelka* revelations. The Commission of Inquiry had not even submitted its report, but there was a return of the one who had to resign in the wake of those revelations. That had to return to the Government, to the same Ministry, which is intriguing. It remains an intrigue, a mystery, as to why he returned to the same Ministry. Also, he was brought back by the same head of the Government, who had said that he would only return to the Government when his innocence is proved and verdict given by the Commission. At the same time, double yardsticks and different sets of rules were adopted for the officers of the Armed Forces who were named and the other officials. Enough attempt was made throughout to shield, to protect, the political people, who were named, while there was court martial of the Army officers. How can we accept this situation? They were proceeded against while others were protected. The protected ones, of course, have now written their own clean chits!

Sir, regarding our defence preparedness and indigenisation, I had referred on a few occasions today about the ongoing projects of the DRDO and other defence organisations. They need to be accelerated and the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Finance both need to see to it that adequate resources are made available. Why do I say so? I had placed on record the story of those three years and the forced surrender of the funds. Even now, what is requested for is not being made available. The hon. Defence Minister is present here. For the Tenth Plan, much has been compromised. That is why there is need to persuade the Ministry of Finance to look into this reality of the Tenth Plan, so that we are adequately prepared for the next one.

Sir, another issue, which is of concern, is the shortage of officers in the Army. The shortage is a serious one, of middle-ranking officers, of young officers, of those who provide the cutting edge in the battle. The shortage is across the board. The shortage is there in the officers' cadre, the sailors cadre, and the civilian cadre. The worst hit is the Indian Navy, because they use a lot of technical people and a lot of civilians work in their shipyards and maintenance work. From what we find, there was a ten per cent cut imposed for pruning the defence expenditure. Now, that ten per cent has become twenty per cent. The shortage is to the tune of twenty per cent.

One cause of shortage in the Armed Forces is that we have not taken steps to attract more young people in recent years. What used to be the practice was that a lot of young people, educated young people, joined the National Defence Academy, or, the Indian Military Academy. They have produced some of the finest officers. We are very proud of our officers in the Indian Army and the Armed Forces. But there is a need to make the career in Defence more attractive and more secure, so that we attract the best of our young people as officers for our three forces. Sir, for that, when they are serving in the defence forces, the Government may consider giving them additional qualifications, so that once they demit office, or, once they retire, they are in a position to find gainful employment. Now, I come to soldiers. They retire at a young age. After serving for 20 years, if you look at the age at which they retire, they are still very young. The Ministry of Defence may take up this issue of their absorption or integration of the ex-servicemen in the para-military forces. They should be given the first preference. When they retire, where will they go just with pension? If this is done, if there is a coordinating mechanism or structured mechanism which can ensure that retired soldiers or ex-servicemen are absorbed in the para-military forces, it will re-assure those who join the Indian Army. They serve under very hard conditions. We are talking of those soldiers who fought in Kargil and Drass. We are talking of those soldiers who are serving in Siachen. One shudders to even think of the low temperature at which they are serving.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sharma, how much time do you take? You have already taken forty minutes out of sixty minutes allotted to your party and another two speakers are there.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: I am about to conclude. Well, Sir, I take, like all of us who are present, the defence and security of the country very seriously.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Taking this into consideration, I am allowing.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Sir, therefore, this issue of shortage needs to be looked into. The ex-servicemen absorption in para-military forces may be urgently taken up. At the same time, Sir, the hon. Defence Minister may persuade the Finance Ministry or the Finance Minister because he has been one of the best Finance Ministers India's has had and he was voted as the best Finance Minister, if I recall correctly, in 1983. So, Sir, the 10 per cent cut must go. That across the board cut, as I was saying, has become 20 per cent leading to an acute shortage that must be removed. I would like here to compliment the Government and the Minister of Defence for taking certain measures to deal with this issue. There was a stagnation of officers in the Army, especially when we talk of those who are the Commanders of the combat units, and the average is around 40. I congratulate the Defence Ministry for reducing the age and bringing it down to 30 or 35 years. That will ensure that young officers are there as Commanders in the field, especially as battle Commanders. I would also like to acknowledge the fact that the Government has adopted the Ajay Vikram Report and this is part of that recommendation. Sir, there is another report which has been submitted by the Kelkar Commission which is linked not only to the indigenisation but also the involvement of the private sector, and that is again an area which needs to be given a serious thought. With these words, I would like to conclude, and I am optimistic and positive. In the last two Budgets, Defence has been given desired attention and support, and under this Government and the Defence Minister, the needs of the three Services will be met fully. Thank you.

SHRI JIBON ROY (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I support the modernisation programme of the Armed Forces as you have undertaken, but I strongly feel that it should be under a plan, as suggested by my esteemed friend, and, under the guidance of his vision.

I will come to this aspect later on. Before that I would like to make some quick points. Of course, you are doing well. I compliment you for drawing the imagination of the people in your short tenure. The first point is that you have asked for Rs. 6,000 crores more for this year. You got a similar amount last year also or something more. How much of it is going towards the welfare of the jawans? I understand you are taking care of everything, but if you explain to us in your reply, it will help us. The second point is that in a Standing Committee report it is mentioned that there was shortage of personal protective instruments like helmets, bulletproof jackets, night vision instruments etc. I wish to know as to what steps the Ministry

has taken to wipe out the shortages. Sir, it was mentioned that the jawans wanted a war memorial and a war museum for the Indian Army, and, similarly a Defence university. All this is mentioned in the Standing Committee report of the last year. I wish to know as to what steps have been taken in this direction.

Sir, coming to another point, from the distribution of the amount I found that only Rs. 2,800 crores have been spent on R&D. If you don't increase that amount on R&D, you will have to depend on foreign arms for years together. In most of the cases where you are acquiring weapons, they are not transferring the technology. An agreement is signed between the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) and the Israeli Aerospace Industries for supply of light helicopters. The cost of the agreement is $ 33 million and they are not transferring the technology. Therefore, both things should be there; we have to spend more on R&D, and, at the same time, the Government has to emphasise on the transfer of technology also. In China, we have seen that in most of the agreements, they are compelling the parties who are supplying arms and other things, to transfer the technology. Why can't it be done in our country?

Now I come to another small point regarding BDL and AHQ for placing of orders. Sir, the AHQ is depending on the Defence Ministry, and on BDL, Hyderabad too. Kindly see if you can do something in the matter.

Sir, now, around Rs. 30,000 crores, perhaps, Rs. 26,000 crores, will flow to the international market for acquiring the weapons. It will create much heat in the market. My point is that you should see that 'Denel' type situation doesn't arise at all in the future. I don't want to go further into the issue. Sir, the point is that institutionalisation of corruption is taking place in the Army in the procurement systems, and, that has to be stopped. Sir, people have faith in you, and, you should do something. Orders were placed successively in 1999, 2001 and 2002, despite the fact that the Director General, Army headquarters had said that the material is substandard. A single order was placed repeatedly. It has to be seen that it is stopped once for all. Sir, now I come to the political aspect of the Defence situation. What is your planning in this regard? My esteemed friend said that during the Tenth Plan the Defence Plan was not prepared. Sir, you are to take up the Eleventh Plan, and, Defence Plan has to be taken up. While taking up the Defence planning, the geopolitical situation, obviously, should be taken care of. You cannot escape that. Now, at the same time, the socio-economic and political situation in the sub-continent and the new international reality should be taken into consideration.

Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, I feel that a nation like ours, where 30 per cent of the population is half naked, half fed, we have to reserve 14 per cent of the total Budgetary allocation for defence preparedness, which comes to 3 per cent of the GDP and 10 times of the allocation made on education and health. Why should it take place now after the collapse of the cold war? .. *(Interruptions)*

†**श्री शाहिद सिद्दीकी** (उत्तर प्रदेश): सर, हाऊस में कोरम नहीं है।

†[شری شاہد صدیقی: سر، ہاؤس میں کورم نہیں ہے۔]

श्री उपसभापति: कोरम का रेज नहीं करते। ...(**व्यवधान**)... प्लीज।

SHRI JIBON ROY: So, my point is that we are preparing ...(*Interruptions*) Preparedness against whom? In various countries and nations of the sub-continent, same half naked, half clad people are there. Why will this situation prevail after the demise of the cold war? This is a big point. We have been sermonised for decades together. There is an evil power in the world. If that evil power is eliminated, the peace will come once and for all. But, out expenditure on defence is increasing every year. The super power which was sermonising us, has become the biggest dealer of weapons and weaponry and they will dictate us with whom we will go to the war and when we should wage this war. That situation should be taken into consideration by our Government, and we should see that we can take an independent position over there In this context, Sir, I would draw the attention of the Government, and we should see that we can take an independent position over there. In this context, Sir, I would draw the attention of the Government to the increasing relations, military to military relations, with the USA. We have relations on intelligence; we have relations on terrorism; we have relations on arms supply; we have now a joint commandant training in some of the areas. Now, I want to caution wherever the USA has touched, those countries have vanquished. They have touched Brazil; they have touched Argentina, they have touched Venezuela, they have touched a number of other countries. They have touched Arab countries, Iraq and Iran. Wherever they have touched, those countries have vanished. Therefore, the Government has got to be cautious about dealing with the USA. In the recent period, they dare to give supply of F-16 to Pakistan and also to India. Whatever they think about us, that thing should be kept in mind. Very recently, they touched Nepal. The

†Transliteration in Urdu Script.

USA, European Union and India have taken a common stand that after the butchery of democracy in Nepal, no arms will be supplied to Nepal. But, the USA violated the agreement. They have started supplying non-combating weapons, creating pressure over us so that we supply weapons to Nepal immediately. Therefore, we have to be careful about the USA. Very recently, I came to know that Pentagon has sent a proposal to the Government of India They want to make a joint venture on futuristic weapon building construction. And, it has appeared in the Press that they want to have joint venture on military software, command and control equipment and guidance technology. If this happens, obviously our independence, our security will be in danger. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would also draw your attention to the increasing relations with Israel. Now, Israel has become the biggest arms merchant for India. Basically, religious fundamentalism is running there in Israel. Relations that started developing during the NDA time with Israel have developed. Israeli Prime Minister had visited our country. Now, we are cooperating on intelligence; we are cooperating on arms supply. Our Vice-Admiral had visited Israel. Now, we are going for a joint venture with Israel. It will jeopardise our interests in Arab countries. In India, in Pakistan and in the sub-continent, this is a wrong decision. I would like the Government to change that policy, rectify the policy initiated by the NDA Government earlier. Sir, a new realisation is emerging. The situation, which was there immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, is not the same today. Bipolarism is developing; sense of independence is increasing. The Government under your leadership is taking more independent position than the NDA Government I compliment you for this, and that changed situation should be taken into consideration. In this context, I wish to quote a historical speech made by the Russian President, Mr. Putin, in the Parliament last Monday. This was the first recognition after the collapse of the Soviet Union from the State. Mr. Putin said, "It must be admitted that the collapse of the Soviet Union was the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century." Then he pointed out at the West and said, "We are a free nation and our place in the modern world will be defined only by how successful and strong we are." Therefore, the point is that we should be strong; we should be successful; we should be independent; we should rouse our masses so that the people of the sub-continent can be united; Governments of the SAARC countries can be carried together. Military preparedness is required. Geopolitical considerations should be there; military consideration should be there. In the end, political consideration and unity of the people of the sub-continent, unity of the people of the entire world against 'war for peace' has to be strengthened by our Foreign Policy and our Policy on Defence. Our Foreign

Policy should be independent and Defence Policy should go side by side with the Foreign Policy. May I request the hon. Minister in the Government of India to take up the matter with the Government of Pakistan and make a joint statement that neither Pakistan nor India will accept F-16 fighter planes from the U.S.A.? If the Government takes up this position, it will strengthen our position. Thank you very much, Sir.

श्री शाहिद सिद्दीकी: डिप्टी चेयरमैन सर, मैं आपका शुक्रगुजार हूं कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया।

सर, आज जो मुल्क में सूरतेहाल हैं, उसमें सारे इंस्टिट्यूशंस की साख और इज्जत खत्म होती जा रही है, चाहे वह ..(व्यवधान)..

5.00 P.M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, if the House permits, may I request Shri R.S. Gavai to come and occupy the Chair?

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आर॰ एस॰ गवई) पीठासीन हुए]

श्री शाहिद सिद्दीकी: सर, मैं यह कह रहा था कि आज किसी इंस्टिट्यूशन की कोई इज्जत नहीं रह गई, लेकिन एक इंस्टिट्यूशन है इस मुल्क में – आर्मी का इंस्टिट्यूशन, जिसकी पूरे मुल्क में इज्जत है। चाहे मुल्क के गरीब लोग हों, चाहे मुल्क की माइनॉरिटीज़ हों, चाहे मुल्क के पिछड़े लोग हों, चाहे मुल्क की मिडिल क्लास हो, सब एक ही इज्जत की निगाह से आर्मी को देखते हैं और हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि इस इंस्टिट्यूशन की साख को हम बिगड़ने न दें, खराब न होने दें। लेकिन, सर, मैं यह बहुत दुख के साथ महसूस कर रहा हूं कि पिछले समय से, चाहे वे हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर कृष्ण मैनन जी हों या आज तक की सूरतेहाल हो, चाहे वह 1962 की जंग रही हो, चाहे वह कारगिल की जंग रही हो, जो भी डिफेंस मिनिस्टर रहा, जो भी रक्षा मंत्रालय को चलाता रहा, उसके ऊपर उंगलियां उठती रहीं और रक्षा मंत्रालय के जितने सौदे होते रहे, डिफेंस मिनिस्टर के ऊपर उंगलियां उठाई जाती रहीं। अभी हमारे दोस्त श्री आनन्द शर्मा बोले, बहुत अच्छा बोले, लेकिन ऐसे ही भाषण हमें सुनने को मिलते थे, जब श्री राजीव गांधी की सरकार थी। तब बोफोर्स के सवाल पर बड़े अच्छे-अच्छे भाषण होते थे और आरोप लगाए जाते थे। यह आरोप-प्रत्यारोप का जो सिलसिला है, यह फौज के लिए, इस देश की सुरक्षा के लिए, इस देश की रक्षा के लिए कोई बहुत अच्छी चीज नहीं है। और हमें इसके ऊपर ग़ौर करना पड़ेगा, इसे संजीदगी से देखना पड़ेगा। विपक्ष में बैठ कर आरोप लगाना बहुत आसान होता है और दूसरी तरफ जाकर अपनी बात को कहना भी बहुत आसान होता है, लेकिन हमें इन रक्षा मामलों को और डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री को इससे ऊपर उठकर देखना होगा, वरना सूरत-ए-हाल वही होगा कि 1962 की जंग में हमारे ज्यादा फौजी मारे गए क्योंकि उनके पास जूते नहीं थे, उनके पास कम्बल नहीं थे और वे चीन के खिलाफ लड़ते हुए, ठंड के कारण ज्यादा मारे गये। कारगिल की जंग में हमारी फौज के पास जो इंतज़ाम होना चाहिए था,

वह नहीं था। बजट पास होते रहे, हम बजट को बढ़ाते भी रहे, लेकिन जब हमारी फौज को जरूरत पड़ी, उस वक्त उनके पास इंतज़ाम नहीं था और जब तक ये जरूरत की चीज़ें आईं, उस वक्त तक बहुत देर हो चुकी थी। आज हम चर्चा तो बहुत कर रहे हैं और आरोप भी लगा रहें हैं, मुझे नहीं मालूम कि क्या ठीक है और क्या गलत है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि इससे नुकसान यह हुआ है कि बोफोर्स के बाद से आज तक हर सेक्रेटरी दस्तख़त करते हुए घबराता है, हर रक्षा मंत्री फैसला करते हुए घबराता है। जो फैसले हमारे यहां महीनों में होने चाहिए थे, वे फैसले सालों में भी नहीं हो सके हैं, जिसकी वजह से देश को नुक़सान पहुंचा है और इसके लिए हमें कोई ऐसा प्रोसीजर बनाना पड़ेगा, कोई तरीका बनाना पड़ेगा जिससे कि ये काम रैड टेपिज़्म से बाहर निकल सकें और इन पर तेजी से फैसले हो सकें और साथ ही इसके ऊपर किसी को अंगुली उठाने का मौका न मिले या राजनीति करने का मौका न मिले। मैं इसके लिए यह कहना चाहूंगा कि या तो हमारी फौज के अंदर कोई न कोई, चाहे वे हमारे रिटायर्ड जनरल्स हैं या फिर हमारी डिफेंस एकेडमीज़ हैं, बहुत से लोग हैं, ईमानदार लोगों की कमी नहीं है, उनमें से आप पांच ईमानदार लोगों की एक कमेटी बनाइए, एक पैनल बनाइए, जो कि एक फास्ट-ट्रैक पैनल हो, जिसके पास जो भी आर्मी ने एक बार पास कर दिया, एक बार यह तय हो गया कि क्या चीज़ ठीक है, उसका फैसला करने की शक्ति हो। अगर दो या तीन गन्स सिलैक्ट होत हैं, तो वे उसके पास आएं और वह फौरन उसका फैसला करे और यह कार्य टाइम बाउंड हो। उसके पास अपना एक अलग दफ्तर हो क्योंकि आर्मी की प्रोक्योरमेंट बहुत ज्यादा होती है और नीचे से ऊपर तक होती है, इसलिए उसका ऑफिस होना चाहिए, जिसे वे लोग ईमानदारी से चला सकें और जिसके ऊपर हम सभी का विश्वास हो। यदि हम प्रोक्योर करने वालों के ऊपर विश्वास नहीं करेंगे तो हम इसमें पिछड़ते चले जाएंगे और वक्त आने पर हमें बहुत तकलीफ होगी। पहले युद्धों में भी ऐसा हुआ है, जिस वक्त जंग हुई, चाहे वह 1965 की जंग हो या 1971 की जंग हो, हमारे पास 15 या 20 दिन से ज्यादा का एम्युनिशन नहीं होता है। हम जीती हुई जंग हार जाते हैं, जीती हुई जंग के बावजूद हमें सीज़ फायर मानना पड़ता है और हमें दूसरों की टर्म्स पर डिक्टेशन मानना पड़ता है क्योंकि हमारे पास जो एम्युनिशन होना चाहिए था या जो तैयारी होनी चाहिए थी, वह नहीं होती है। यह तो एक बुनियादी मामला है, जिस पर हमें बहुत गौर करना चाहिए और दोनों तरफ के दल, आज हमारे साथी यहां मौजूद नहीं हैं, कल को आप भी इधर आ सकते हैं और ये उधर जा सकते हैं। यह सिलसिला अगर इसी तरह से चलता रहेगा तो उससे देश का नुकसान पहुंचेगा। हम, आप दोनों को सही रास्ता बताते रहेंगे। दूसरा, महोदय, इस देश की जो आर्मी है ...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: Just one minute. You see, when I was referring to it, I was not just making allegations, I was specifically referring to the Comptroller and Auditor General's report and I share your concern. When we talk of Defence purchases, the hon. Defence Minister is sitting here, there should be a procedure which is credible, which ensures prompt and quick decisions and which also involves, besides the three Services, as

he has suggested, also the Ministry of Finance and the CVC in some manner, right in the beginning so that what has happened even after the CAG report, that must not lead to a situation where the decision making is infringed upon.

श्री शाहिद सिद्दीकी: मैं आपकी बात पर कोई भी आपत्ति व्यक्त नहीं कर रहा था, मैं सिर्फ इतना कह रहा था कि लोग पहले भी सही थे। लेकिन हमने देखा कि बोफोर्स की गन से बाजरा नहीं निकला, उसमें से गोले निकले थे, जिसने पाकिस्तान को सबक सिखाया था। उस वक्त भी बड़े-बड़े लोग रिपोर्ट लेकर आए थे और दुनिया भर के डॉक्युमेंट्स जमा किए गए थे एवं उन्हें जमा करके उस सरकार को कॉर्नर किया गया था और इस देश को नुकसान पहुंचाया गया था। इसलिए आप सही हो सकते हैं, वे भी सही हो सकते हैं और ऐसा भी हो सकता है कि दोनों गलत हों। बुनियादी बात यह है कि इस रास्ते से हमें हटना होगा और सभी राजनैतिक दलों को एक हो कर इस पर सोचना होगा। सर, दूसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी आर्मी बहुत सेक्युलर इंस्टीट्यूशन है और उसका देश के सेक्युलरिज्म को बढ़ाने में बहुत बड़ा योगदान है। मैं जानता हूं कि जब कभी इस देश में दंगे होते हैं और लोग मर रहे होते हैं तथा पुलिस और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन नाकाम हो जाता है तो आर्मी भेजी जाती है और उस आर्मी को देखने के बाद जो गरीब लोग हैं, जो मायनोरिटी के लोग हैं उन्हें लगता है कि जैसे आसमान से कोई फरिशता उतर आया है उनको बचाने के लिए। तो आर्मी का जो सेक्युलर करेक्टर है उसको हमें बहुत ज्यादा शक्तिशाली बनाना है, ताकतवर बनाना है। लेकिन उसके लिए यह भी आवश्यक है कि हमारी जो आर्मी है वह आयना होनी चाहिए।It should reflect the society. हमारी जो सोसायटी है उसका रिफ्लेक्शन आर्मी के अंदर आना चाहिए। मैं किसी रिजर्वेशन के हक में नहीं हूं, मैं रिजर्वेशन के खिलाफ हूं। मैं किसी धर्म के आधार पर, जाति के आधार पर फौज में किसी तरह के भेदभाव के रिक्रूटमेंट के खिलाफ हूं। लेकिन आपको यह भी देखना चाहिए कि मॉयनोरिटी का रिक्रूटमेंट इसमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा हो। मॉयनोरिटी ने हर लहमे पर, हर मौके पर कुरबानियां दी हैं, जैसा मैंने पहले भी कहा था, मैं हवलदार अब्दुल हमीद की बात नहीं करता, मैं तो कारगिल की बात करता हूं। कारगिल में जो मरने वाले थे उसके जो आंकड़े मैंने देखे हैं उसमें साढ़े आठ प्रतिशत मुसलमान थे जबकि फौज में मुश्किल से दो-तीन प्रतिशत ही हैं। तो फौज के अंदर तीन प्रतिशत और शहीद होने वालों में साढ़े आठ प्रतिशत। अगर आप स्पेशल रिक्रूटमेंट को चलाएं, तो यहां मुसलमान इंस्टीट्यूशंस हैं, स्कूल्ज हैं, कॉलेजिज हैं, उनको प्रोत्साहन दें। बहुत से लोग जानते नहीं कि एन.डी.ए. क्या है, बहुत से लोग जानते नहीं कि किस तरह से उसमें हमको एप्रोच करना है। आनन्द शर्मा जी ने बात की थी कि हमारे पास ऑफिसर्स की कमी है और यहां पर बेराजगार लोग बैठे हैं जो ग्रेज्युएट हैं और हमेशा अच्छे लड़ाका माने गए, जिन्होंने फौज के अंदर चाहे वह फर्स्ट वर्ल्ड वार रही हो, चाहे सेकेंड वर्ल्ड वार रही हो या कारगिल की जंग रही हो, उसमें कुरबानियां दी हैं। तो उन लोगों को लाने के लिए एफर्मेटिव एक्शन की कोशिश की जाए, रिजर्वेशन मत कीजिए। कुछ अफसरों की जिम्मेदारी लगाई जाए। अगर ऐसा होगा तो मैं समझता हूं कि देश के सेक्युलरिज्म को भी फायदा पहुंचेगा, देश की सुरक्षा को भी फायदा पहुंचेगा और

मॉयनोरिटी के अंदर यह अहसास बढ़ेगा कि इस मुल्क की रक्षा के लिए हमारे ऊपर भरोसा किया जा रहा है और जब आप भरोसा देंगे तो आप देखेंगे कि किस तरह से वे इस देश की रक्षा के लिए आगे बढ़कर काम करेंगे।

सर, मैं जीवन जी की बात से पूरी तरह से सहमत हूं कि अमेरिका ने जो हमको जिसको कहना चाहिए बहुत फिरका दिली का मुजाहरा किया कि – साहब, हम पाकिस्तान को एफ-16 दे रहे हैं सो आपको जो चाहिए उसमें हम आपको अपना कलेजा भी देने के लिए तैयार हैं। तो यह कलेजा बड़ा खतरनाक है, इसके ट्रेप में हमें नहीं आना चाहिए। जो हथियारों की दौड़ है उससे हमें होशियार रहना चाहिए। इस ट्रेप में आखिर बहुत से देश और बहुत से क्षेत्र नुकसान उठा चुके हैं, इस ट्रेप में हमें नहीं आना है और हमें यह देखना है कि हमें इससे क्या नुकसान हो सकता है। दूसरी बात इजरायल की कही, ठीक है कि आज इजरायल से हम दोस्ती कर रहे हैं। कोई बात नहीं है, इजरायल से हमें दोस्ती करनी चाहिए। लेकिन इजरायल के ऊपर अपनी डिफेंस नीड के लिए डिपेंडेंट नहीं होना चाहिए क्योंकि इससे हमारी फॉरेन पॉलिसी को नुकसान पहुंचेगा। हमारी फॉरेन पॉलिसी हमेशा से अलग चली है। यह पटरी के दो अलग-अलग पहलू हैं। जहां इजरायल चलता है वहां हिन्दुस्तान नहीं जा सकता। अगर हमारी डिपेंडेंट बढ़ेगी तो हमें उससे नुकसान हो सकता है इसलिए इजरायल से बाहर निकलना चाहिए। यह इनकी पॉलिसी हो सकती थी, इनकी कुछ विशेष रूप से एक विचार-धारा भी उसके पीछे काम करती रही थी। मैं समझता हूं कि यू॰पी॰ए॰ की वह विचार धारा नहीं है और वह विचार-धारा नहीं होनी चाहिए।

सर, अभी एक बात सामने आई है कि जो दंगे होते हैं उसमें शायद फौज का प्रयोग बढ़ाने की बात है। देश में जो आखिरी हालत होती है चाहे वह फ्लड आए, चाहे देश में कुछ इस तरह की क्लेमिटी हो तो उसमें फौज को बुलाया जाता है। मैं समझता हूं कि फौज आखिरी हथियार होना चाहिए। लेकिन अगर हम दंगों में फौज का इस्तेमाल ज्यादा करने लगेंगे तो मुझे डर लगता है। वैसे हमें रेपिडेक्शन पुलिस फोर्स से बड़ी उम्मीदें थी और बहुत अच्छे तरीके से उसे बनाया गया था। लेकिन ट्रेनिंग नहीं हुई थी, उसका जो एटीटयूड है वह नहीं बनाया गया। उसकी जो सेंसेविटी है, वह डेवलेप नहीं की गयी, इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहीं जाकर खड़ी हो गयी, जहां पीएसी खड़ी थी। जो रोल पीएससी का था, वही रैपिड एक्शन फोर्स को भी हो गया। कल को कहीं ऐसा न हो कि हम जिस सेकुलर आर्मी की बात कर रहे हैं, जिस सेकुलर आर्मी के ऊपर हमें गर्व हैं, उस सेकुलर आर्मी को अगर हम इन चीजों में ज्यादा इस्तेमाल करेंगे, तो उससे उसको ज्यादा नुकसान हो जायेगा। इन बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए हमें चलना चाहिए।

मैं अंत में, अपनी आखिरी बात कह कर खत्म करूंगा कि हम बचपन से सुनते आये हैं कि चीन के साथ रिश्ते अच्छे हो जायेंगे, पाकिस्तान के साथ रिश्ते अच्छे हो जायेंगे, तो हथियार नहीं खरीदेंगे, फौज पर खर्चा कम होगा और स्कूल पर, सड़क पर, अस्पताल पर ज्यादा पैसा खर्च होगा, ज्यादा पैसा जायेगा, उस सुबह का हमें इंतजार है। वह सुबह कब आयेगी? हमें लग रहा था कि शायद वह

सुबह आने वाली है, चीन के साथ संबंध अच्छे हो रहें हैं, पाकिस्तान के साथ भी संबंध अच्छे हो रहे हैं, लेकिन अभी भी वही बातें हैं कि हथियार ज्यादा से ज्यादा हों, ज्यादा से ज्यादा डिफेंस का बजट हो, डिफेंस का खर्चा बढ़ना चाहिए, यह देश की सुरक्षा के लिए आवश्यक है। मैं जानता हूं कि यह अभी संभव नहीं है, मैं जानता हूं कि अभी इस दोस्ती की शुरूआत है, लेकिन हम उस सपने को देख रहे हैं, हम समझते हैं कि उस सपने में रंग भरेगा, साल दो साल में भरेगा, लेकिन उसके लिए हमें अपना नजरिया बदलना पड़ेगा। हमारी सुरक्षा सिर्फ डिफेंस से नहीं होगी, हथियारों से नहीं होगी, देश का जो डिफेंस होता है, देश जो सुपर पावर बनता है, वह अपने एटीटयूड से बनता है। अपनी जो एजुकेशन होती है, उससे बनता है, अपनी जो इकनॉमिक कंडीशन्स होती हैं, उससे बनता है, अपनी जो सोशल कंडीशन्स होती हैं, उनसे बनता है, अपने यहां जो स्टेबिलिटी होती है, उससे बनता है, जो लोगों में फेथ ऑफ कांफीडेंस होता है अपने देश के ऊपर, अपनी सरकार के ऊपर नहीं है, अपने नेताओं के ऊपर, अपने नेताओं के ऊपर, उससे सुपर पावर बनती है। अगर आज हमारे लोगों का कांफीडेंस अपनी सरकार के ऊपर नहीं है, अपने नेताओं के ऊपर, अपने राजनेताओं के ऊपर, हम अपने लोगों को बेहतरीन हर फेसेलिटीज दें, शिक्षा दें, तो जो हम 85 हजार करोड़ रुपया डिफेंस के ऊपर खर्च कर रहे हैं, हम कल को इस हालत में हों कि हम 35 हजार करोड़ रुपया अपने बेरोजगार लोगों को दे सकें, उनको बेरोजगारी-भत्ता दे सकें, हम उनको हर बेहतरीन फेसेलिटीज दे सकें, अगर ऐसा होगा तो हिन्दुस्तान सुपर पावर बनेगा, क्योंकि हमारी सबसे बड़ी स्ट्रेंथ हमारी यह मैन पावर है और इस मैन पावर में क्वालिटी होगी, तो हम दुनिया में अपनी जगह बनायेंगे और हमारे पास सिर्फ क्वांटिटी होगी, हमारी आबादी की क्वांटिअी होगी, तो उससे हम कोई बड़ी पावर नहीं बन सकेंगे। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि इस पर भी सोचा जाये कि किस तरह से पाकिस्तान और चीन के साथ बात करके हम हथियारों की दौड़ से बाहर निकल सकते हैं। बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया, बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

DR. BIMAL JALAN (Nominated): Thank you, Mr. vice-Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to intervene in this debate. I am particularly happy that I am speaking before the Defence Minister with whom I had an occasion to work when he was the Finance Minister. He is one of the best administrators in our country and I am glad that he is now at the helm of a Ministry, which is also one of the most important Ministries in our country. Unfortnately, as was mentioned by some speakers, we hear about defence only either when the country is in trouble or in difficulty or when there is a scandal. I would begin by paying my compliments and respect to the men and women in the Defence Services and in the Ministry itself. I know the people who serve in the Ministry are, probably, the brightest, the best and the most competent of IAS officers, IRS officers, and financial officers, and not to speak of the Minister himself. Therefore, I would begin by paying my compliments to the people who have contributed to our defence.

Defence is not only security but also the foundation of our democracy. We must never forget this. The only alternative to a democratic Government, as you know, is what you find somewhere else and that belongs to these services. We are very fortunate in having the Defence Services, in having a Defence Ministry, which has lived up to what the Constitution expected it to live. This is my first comment.

The second comment is about the problem of resources, money and modernisation. Mr. Vice-Chairman, all of us have been involved in the administration and in the Budget-making for a fairly long time. I have not seen at any time, in India's post-Independence history, when we were in such a comfortable position as we are now, so far as modernisation of the Defence weaponry and modernisation of the Defence Services are concerned. There is nothing which can stop us from having the bet radars, from having the best weapon system, from having the best ships, from having the best aircraft in the world. After 1956, I can see that the last three-four years is the only time when we have the resources with which we can modernise it, if we have the will. But we don't seem to have the will. Part of the reason for that is the periodical problems and issues which have just been referred to by my colleagues here. I also want to make one point. Why is the defence procurement so different? I mean the same set of rules apply to defence procurement and to any other procurement in the Government. There are also reported scandals in other areas in respect of procurements. There are CAG reports, CVC reports and CBI investigations. But the defence sector is very different in a very fundamental way. It is this. The markets are extremely imperfect markets. If you have the most of defence weaponry, where it will go and how it will go, is controlled by the exporting country. You are talking about F-16s and F-18s and so on and so forth.

Secondly, the specification or the kind of defence equipments you need, depends on the territory that you have. Both on the demand and the supply sides we are dealing with extremely imperfect markets. Then the third factor is, there is overcapacity in the defence industry abroad. Let us combine these factors. Your demand is specific to your country. I mean, if you are a mountainous country, if you have borders, your needs are different. The country which is thousands of miles away, the supplying country, decides whether you can buy this equipment or you cannot buy this equipment and so on and so forth.

The third factor of this particular market is overcapacity. Therefore, the product pricing here is not subject to the kind of product pricing which you get in the normal market. This is the economic point which, I think, you

must bear in mind. Therefore, you are making decisions in regard to procurement in a market which is highly imperfect, whether supply side, demand side or specifications side. Therefore, launching any set of allegations abut procurement is easy because you do require to deviate from what you regard as the ideal way. If you are buying automobiles, it is easy because you can have whatever you want to have. But if you are buying weapons, they are very specific to your needs and somebody has to make a judgement, that person — let us assure that there is no corruption — even then has to deviate from what you regard is the market from where you procure certain other products, simply because on demand side, supply side and specifications side, you have a particular need. But markets are imperfect. In this particular situation, given the history to which an allusion has been made and given the other factors, we must remember that the policies of India has undergone a tremendous change. Since 1989, when the Bofors scandal was raised, we have had seven Governments and, may be, eight or nine Defence Ministers, with an average tenure of probably two years. In the first 49 years, *i.e.* from 1947 to 1989, we had four or five Defence Ministers. From 1989 to 2005, we have had eight to nine Defence Ministers. Now unless we depoliticise the whole process, we cannot do what Shri Sharma wants the Defence Services to do, which is to procure the best equipments in an imperfect market, to do the best for the country in an imperfect situtation. You cannot do that. What is the answer? I have a suggestion which may not be acceptable to the political leadership. But I am sure, Shri Pranab Mukherjee will listen to it and probably will give some thought to it. My suggestion is, why not completely depoliticise the procurement process. Why must the Defence Minister sign on that file? Just think over it. Supposing, we set up a procedure whereby three middle ranking. Army people with technical competence, a representative of the Defence Ministry at the level of Joint Secretary, the Financial Advisor of the Finance Ministry, six or seven or eight persons at the middle level decide on what is needed. Then you have a high level committee consisting of three Army Chiefs. They will decide about it. The Army Chief or the Navy Chief does not decide on the Navy procurement or the Army procurement or the Air procurement. They are wise men. You have a Bench of the Supreme Court which decides all kinds of complicated cases. These are people who whole listen to the presentor and take a decision as the highest authority in the country. The Defence Secretary may be part of it; the Finance Secretary may be part of it and the Cabinet Secretary may be part of its. This wise council of six or seven people would decide about it. If it needs to go to the Cabinet, let it go to the Cabinet; the Cabinet would

accept their recommendation. Let us set that tradition. But the role of the Government, or, the hon. Defence Minister, or, the hon. Prime Minister, will be to decide on policy, to decide on strategy, to decide on budget, to decide on which our danger zones are. Those are the issues on which the political minds should apply; and there also we can make a mistake, but those will be different kinds of mistakes. So, I would divide this whole procurement issue into these two parts, namely, the policy, the budget, the strategic issues, where the minds of the hon. Defence Minister or the Cabinet should be applied. After you have decided that this is where we need equipment, that we must have the best radars, the best model of something, then, leave it to your technical people to decide what they should do, and leave it to a group of wise men at the top level to decide whether those who have decided have decided it rightly or wrongly. And if we do that, I think we can solve our problems. If we do not do it, what I am afraid of is that we would set a tradition, just as we are setting traditions in other areas, where the precedence becomes the ruling law of the day. And because we have started something, we have challenged something, tomorrow somebody else would challenge it — and, in a system where we have not have the same Government returning to prover since 1989 with the brief exception of one Government for one year. We are having different combinations of parties leading the Government, different, Governments coming into power and we are dealing with procurement in a market which is so imperfect–then, how would you stop this becoming a precedence for-ever? And therefore, Sir, I am raising this issue only because of the highest respect I have for the present Defence Minister and he had taken, as was said, certain initiatives when he was the Finance Minister and I happended to be sitting very close to him at that time, and, therefore, I am taking the liberty of referring to this issue. It may take two years, three years, or four years. But, let us, Sir, make a systemic change. All of us are not going to be here for ever. But let us make a change which fifteen, twenty or thirty years later would seem to have made this country stronger, more vital and more responsive in the face of the kind of challenges that we are facing. Sir, I can tell you that if we do that, money is not a problem. You can take my word on this. Whatever experience I have, money is not a problem to make India one of the best, the strongest country with the weaponry of the kind that we need, to provide the best services and the best things that we want for our Defence people, whether they are in the Army, the Navy or the Air Force or whether they are in any other branch of our Services. So, I would say, let us do some fundamental thinking. I am not referring to the present episode; Hopefully, we will get over the present

episode. But, let us not have the recurrence of the similar episode in the future and for that I would urge that this House and all those who are present here look at they system rather than the episode or the incident. Let us change the system once and for all and make sure that we can achieve what we have set out to achieve today.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Prof. Kurian. Your have ten minutes.

PROF. P. J. KURIAN (Kerala): I will need a little more time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. That is the time left. If the debate has to conclude, I request the Members to...

PROF. P. J. KURIAN: I needed only ten minutes. But, having heard the previous speaker, I need five minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No.

PROF. P. J. KURIAN: That has to be agreed to.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. there are Members whose names I have called and they were not here. If they come back, then you should not again ask me to give them time.

PROF. P. J. KURIAN: There is time, Sir. My party will give me its time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your party has only 20 minutes.

PROF. P. J. KURIAN: There is no Opposition also. You give me their time also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have already allotted Opposition's time.

PROF. P. J. KURIAN: All right, Sir. I will try to be brief. In fact, I wanted only ten minutes. It is a question of only five minutes more. I remember when I spoke the last time, I sople immediately after the hon. Member, Dr. Dimal Jalan. At that time also, I had to disagree with him and contradict him. I am sorry, today also I am forced to do that because I cannot, at all, agree with the proposition that he has made. He asked, "What is the need of a political leadership, say, the Defence Minister, signing on the file of purchase?" I would say that is the democracy. It is so because the political leadership is the representative of the people. The Army Chief or the Navy Chief is not the representative of the people. They are only employees. They are just serving. They are under the political leadership.

The second point which I would like to ask is, where is the accountability? If the Services Chief or some Army personnel or anybody commits a mistake, where is the accountability? Sir, the democratic system is one

of the finest systems experimented throughout the world. And the advantage of this system is this. When a train accident takes place, you point a finger at the Railway Minister. As per your argument, the Railway Minister has no responsibility. It is the driver on whom the whole responsibility should rest. Likewise, if the Army Chief or any personnel there commits a mistake, the ultimate responsibility lies on the Defence Minister. He is accountable for that to the nation.

It is correct that we have a number of allegations in this regard. Yes, I agree with you. allegations are there. But, those who are in the political leadership, those who are Prime Ministers or Ministers should be prepared for the scrutiny of the utmost kind. They should be prepared for that. There will be allegations. Let me say this. Why should you be afraid of allegations, if you are innocent? You should not be afraid of that. According to your presentation or your view, there will be no allegations hereafter. They can buy anything and get away with that. But, it is not that we want.

DR. BIMAL JALAN: I think you have completely misunderstood my point. The Government makes policies. You have a Foreign Exchange Management Policy. But, there is some clerk somewhere who is issuing that licence, for which you can still ask the question, and the Minister is responsible. So, you are responsible for making policies, not for signning on every file. So, I think, you have completely misunderstood my point.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): They are also responsible for implementation of it. (*Interruptions*)

DR. BIMAL JALAN: Your are not responsible for signing every licence as long as it is consistent with the policy. (*Interruptions*) I mean, we had foreign exchange restrictions. (*Interruptions*) If somebody gave a licence in the Reserve Bank of India...(*Interruptions*)

PROF. P.J. KURIAN: Okay. Now let me proceed. Don't take my time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You come to the point.

PROF. P.J. KURIAN: Sir, allegations will come because we are having a parliamentary system of Government. In this system, not only the Opposition, but also the members of the Ruling Party will probe, and if there is some cloud of suspicion, allegations will come. But, my point is, the political leadership should not be afraid of allegations. If they are honest and if all the procedures are complied with, there is nothing to be afraid of. I agree with your suggestion for depoliticisation. But, where from should we start it? Then, it strikes to me that we should start from 1987 because

just now my friend, Shri Anand Sharma, mentioned about it. Think about the Bofors allegations. The Bofors allegations were made against our beloved leader late Rajivji. The Bofors allegations were invented from nothing. Even after 17 years, they could not give even an iota of evidence. Rajivji absolutely proved to be innocent. year after year, his innocence proved beyond doubt.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Even by the court.

PROF. P.J. KURIAN: Yes, even by the court. Those who made allegations came to power immediately after that Government. Because of their allegations, a cloud of suspicion was created. We went to the opposition benches. And those who made allegations became the rulers of the country. They tried their best to bring out some proof against Rajivji but they could not. Today, my friends in the Opposition. why, do they not apologise to the nation? Let us start from there. Today, when the CAG has made some remarks about some purchases connected with Kargil, or when the Government has filed an affidavit saying that there would be some investigation, they make a hue and cry. They said, they would boycott the house and they have boycotted also. Then, why do they not think on what damage they did to the nation and to the innocent Rajiv ji? Why are they making such false allegations? Why not they apologise? If they have a sense of sincerity, if they have belief in probity, if they have some respect to the pride of the nation, I would request the Opposition, they should apologise to the nation for having invented, for having charged the innocent Rajiv Gandhi with false charges. Let us start depoliticisation from that point. They should say, "We will not make such charges." Then I agree. But what about the charges now? These are not made by us. The charges against the Opposition or on the former Defence Minister is not our invention. It is the CAG who has said that there are procedural lapses. He also said that Kargil should not be an excuse for such lapses.

Sir, the CAG is, again, a body constituted under the Constitution. It is a Constitutional body. Are we not to take it seriously? So, we are taking that into account. This is a part of the democratic process. That is what I am saying. The suggestion of depoliticisation or of leaving all purchases to the army personnel will not work, and it will not be feasible in a democracy. That is what I have to say about this.

Secondly, the Opposition claim to be innocent. There is nobody in the Opposition today. We can ask this of the Opposition benches only. Why are they worried about this investigation, at all? If they are innocent, they should not be worried at all. Their worry shows that there is something

rotten, something fishy. I would request you, the hon. Defence Minister, who has been complemented by my previous speaker. I also fully agree with him when he said that you were the best Finance Minister. Also, he is the best Defence Minister. I would request the hon. Defence Minister to please continue with the inquiry into all allegations and charges. If anybody is innocent, let him come clean. If anybody has betrayed the nation by collecting commission for the purchases on the coffins, for soldiers' dead bodies is whoever it may be, Sir please proceed against them. Don't let them go scot-free. That is the duty you have to do the nation.

My third point is on the improvement of relations with Pakistan and China. I compliment this Government. I think, not only every Indian, but every one in the world would compliment this Government. Of course, the previous Government started the peace process with Pakistan and China. After this Government came to power...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your ten minutes are over. I am giving you additional five minutes, please proceed.

PROF. P.J. KURIAN: I am so thankful to you. It is Rajivji who started the peace process with China. This Government has taken it forward with Pakistan and China and every one has supported this.

But at the same time, I would like to caution that there should not be any let up in our defence preparedness. There should not be an excuse for de-escalating or reducing our defence expenditure. In defence preparedness our country should be the best. I would also like to caution that there are some vested interests for keeping tension on borders. I do not know why the US is supplying F-16 aircraft to Pakistan. I am told and I read in the newspapers that they are also giving something to us. It is very clear that there are vested interests of arms manufacturers, where ever they are from, to keep tension on the borders. So, we should be careful on that count also. Therefore, while purchasing arms and while dealing with other countries, please keep in mind that they have vested interests also. Unfortunately, the third world countries are buying arms at the risk of their development.

The next point I would like to submit is that peace is very important for Pakistan and India and we should continue to explore all possibilities of peace because the money we are spending for purchasing arms can be used for the development of the nation and also for poverty alleviation.

The next point I would like to submit is about Defence Services. I agree with Mr. Anand Sharma that we should attract the best talent to the defence

services. How is that possible? That is possible by offering them the best career prospects, service conditions and salaries. I feel that some of our sections of Armed Forces are not satisfied. Their morale should be kept high. But is it so? When you prepare the defence budget, please try to rectify their personal grievances which have already been mentioned and, therefore, I do not want to repeat. There is some kind of dissatisfaction in some areas which I would like you to kindly go through. Recently I read in the newspapers that a lady officer is being court-martialled. There are some other stories connected with that. I do not believe in those stories because they may be true or may not be true. But the point is that there should be some self-working mechanism in the Defence system by which grievances of the Armed Forces are rectified within the system itself, without affecting the displine and the morale. But today something is lacking there. That is why this kind of court-martialling is taking palce and the new stories connected with that are there.

Sir, my next point is regarding the ex-servicemen. After 15 or 20 or 25 years most of the Army personnel retire. They retire at young age. After that what do they do? They do not get jobs. The facilities and pension, which they are getting, are inadequate. I know some of the ex-servicemen who served in the Army but do not get any pension at all. I know some of these people who are starving in my State. They served in the Army for 10 or 12 years. I know some people who served in the Army for less than 10 years, but they do not get a single pie as pension. I feel ashamed when I listen to their plight. I felt ashamed because as Members of Parliament even after three or four years we get pension. But in the Army they serve for 10 or 12 or 14 years, but there is no pension. I think this is injustice and discrimination. I am requesting the hon. Minister to please look into this matter. Those who serve the Army even for four or five years, something should be given to them, at least, minimum pension to these people. They deserve it. Sir, one more point. (*Time-bell rings*). Final point, Sir, self-reliance is very important. But what is self-reliance? We have got ordnance factories. We have manufacturing capabilities. Those should be made the best of art, the best of technology. We should buy technology or we should give more fund to R&D so that our ordnance factories, our manufacturing units be made the best Sir, we have HAL, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited. Its capability and its technology should be upgraded Sir, I thank you very much for the order placed for aircraft carrier in Cochin Shipyard. I am told it is going to be one of the best in the world. I am proud of that. I congratulate you. I am very happy that it is in my State. Like Cochin Shipyard, HAL, the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, other ordnance factories should also be

upgraded with the best technology so that our production units are best in the world and that is how we become self-reliant. It should be purchased. Therefore, our production unit should be made best in the world. This is my suggestion. Thank you very much the Budget in toto.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is not the Budget.

PROF. P.J. KURIAN: No, no I have the hang-over of Lok Sabha.

DR. K. MALAISAMY (Tamil Nadu): Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. At the fag-end of the day my task is fairly easier as many of the earlier speakers have spoken exhaustively. However, I am happy to make my brief presentation on the subject which I like very much. The reasons are manifold including the past performance and the excellent services rendered by the three services under trying circumstances. Sir, as a citizen, everyone is primarily interested in safeguarding life and property. The internal security and the law and order functioning of the State are mainly responsible for enabling a citizen protect his life and property. The other thing is, the internal security or this kind of micro level security can be possible only when there is a micro level security, namely national security and integrity of the country for which only our Defence services come into play. Sir, we are quite aware about any organisation. Sir, as everyone of us is quite conscious, an organisation will have an objective, a structure, operation and manpower. Before coming to Defence, any organisation will have these features. Over a period of time it has to undergo certain changes depending upon the challenges and the trying circumstances available before them. The organisation cannot afford to be static, It should be dynamic. Taking our Defence into account, it is a very, very important Department which is exclusively held by the Government of India without any need to go with any State. It is an age-old department. It has got its own pride and prestige. That is why the national security an integrity is kept at the uppermost. We feel that we are all out to pat and praise this Department and the forces working under them. As far as the Defence Ministry is concerned, we have a well-informed, a learned and a senior person like Shri Pranab Mukherjee. He certainly could have done the SWOT analysis of his Ministry. "S" stands for strength, "W" stands for weakness, "O" stands for opportunity, and "T" stands for threat. Whether this analysis of strength, weakness, opportunity and threat of the Ministry has been done. Once this is done, he will certainly know the solution also. Any single problem will have more than one solution. This is what I was taught when I was a student of management. Once you identify strength, weakness, opportunity and threat, the matter ends there.

Sir, coming to the Ministry of Defence, a major hurdle and handicap before it is the change of Government. Irrespective of whichever party comes to power, Government is a continuous process. And depending upon the direction, the political will, the skill with which the Government executes the direction, the policy, it undergoes a change. In such a situation, as rightly said by some of my colleagues, the political decisions or the directions will also have to play a role in making the policy, because it is a policy-making body. While formulating a policy will you take all these factors—earlier, present and future- into consideration? In this connection, I may mention that dissuasion with respect to China and deterrence with respect to Pakistan is the policy being followed now and it is being maintained. That is correct. Because marginalizing policy of Pakistan did not prove well. That is why this dissuasion and deterrence with respect to China and Pakistan should be maintained. The hon. Minister is well aware of it. I am endorsing his view. In case of China, as much as they are growing in military strength, we should go 'offensively defensive'. We should take 'offensive-defence' stand which may work very well with respect to China.

As far as Defence preparedness and our effort to go in for all out is concerned, it is good. It is stated many a time that in spite of peace process and other things they cannot be taken for granted. Something may happen at any moment. As such, we cannot afford to be complacent. On the other hand, our Defence preparedness should be at the highest level. In such a situation, we should not let down and we should not relax in the process of our upgradation and modernisation of all the three Services. It should be a continuous process, irrespective of whichever form of Government is present or whichever party comes to power.

My third point on this is expansion of Defence cooperation. With whom? You have to be very careful in choosing your partners outside the country with whom you want to coordinate or cooperate, particularly in respect of high-tech weaponry system. You have to be extremely careful on that.

Coming to some of the weak areas, I would like to bring it to the notice of the hon. Minister that it has been predicted that war may break out. War may occur in mountains. How do you know? This is how many people predict, many experts predict. If at all a war breaks out, it could be in the mountains without escalating and on the other hand confining to that region itself. If that is the case, are we prepared to counter thay by upgrading our mountain warfare capabilities? This is the point I would like to tell him. Again, it is said that striking capability in high-altitude is also

not adequate. The inadequate striking capability in the high-altitude has to be improved. What are we doing on that? Now, I come to another specific area, namely, the Budget. It has rightly been said by the Finance Minister, and everyone of us will agree, that the highest budget provision has been made for the defence forces, that is, Rs. 77,000 crores. But it is on record that not only this year, but for the last two years, the budget provisions could not be spent. In one year alone, Rs. 10,000 crores were surrendered. Once the Budget provision has been made, it has to be necessarily spent. But, contrary to this, a huge amount has been surrendered. Is it a case of non-planning? Or, is it a case of inadequate coordination between the Ministry and the services? Or, is it a case of inadequate coordination among the services themselves? Or, is it a case of incorrect or unrealistic assessment of your requirement? Kindly go through it and find out what exactly has been the reason so that it may not happen in future. It may be taken as a lesson to be careful in future.

Now, I come to defence production. Some of our colleagues have also spoken on this count. We have got our defence production factories. Has the present Government formulated a policy that all the production units, at higher levels, should be professionalised? It has to be professionalised from top to bottom. If that be the case, is it correct on your part to run the defence production units as departmental units? Instead of that, can it be corporatised so that professionalisation can be introduced and maximum production and high productivity can be ensured. Sir, many times you need not go for high production or high production capacity at all, while the infrastructure is available. In such a situation what can be done? Can any diversification be done through which we can use the factory, men and material for profitable purpose? It is my suggestion to you.

Now, I come to defence procurement. Many of the people have been free enought to express that irrespective of the Governments the scams in defence procurements have been occurring—not one or two, but in plenty. What has been the reasons behind this? Several commissions have been appointed, several reports have been submitted, but still it seems to be a continuous process. Starting with Bofors, till today, a lot of scams have taken place. What is basically wrong with our system? Is it a system failure or a human failure? But one thing is sure that there is something basically wrong. This is the way I look at it. If that be the case, how can the structure be re-structured; how can the organization be re-organised; how can the objective be revised; how can the right person for right task be thought of? This is the way, I would like to place my views. And, without taking much time, let me conclude, before the bell rings, with an observation

that a long-term planning for our future is required. We must prepare ourselves and perform in such a way that we are ready for any eventuality. Thank you, Sir.

श्री उपसभापति: श्री मंगनी लाल मंडल।

श्री मंगनी लाल मंडल (बिहार): उपसभापति महोदय ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: आपके पाँच मिनट हैं।

श्री मंगनी लाल मंडल: पाँच मिनट, सर। महोदय, मैं तो अंतिम वक्ता हूँ। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति: नहीं-नहीं, अभी एक वक्ता हैं। ...(व्यवधान)... अभी एक हैं।

श्री मंगनी लाल मंडल: महोदय, अभी जो परिचर्चा हो रही है, उसमें कई बिन्दुओं पर लोगों ने अपनी राय रखी है। विश्व में प्रतिरक्षा के मामले में परिदृश्य बदले हैं, लेकिन भारत की अपनी कुछ समस्याएँ हैं। आतंकवाद के चलते जो छद्म-युद्ध चलता रहा है भारत में, उसकी एक अलग समस्या है। आंतरिक सुरक्षा और सीमा सुरक्षा से जुड़ा हुआ यह मामला है।

उपसभापति महोदय, चीन के प्रधानमंत्री और पाकिस्तान के राष्ट्रपति अभी बड़े प्रसन्न होकर के यहां से गए हैं, लेकिन जब पाकिस्तान के राष्ट्रपति यहां से गए तो एक समाचार छपा कि कश्मीर की समस्या जब तक हल नहीं होगी, तब तक शांति का कोई स्थाई समाधान नहीं हो सकता है और जब चीन के प्रधानमंत्री गए थे, तो दो तरह के समाचार छपे, एक खबर छपी कि चीन ने सिक्किम को भारत का अंग मान लिया है, लेकिन दूसरी खबर यह छपी कि अरुणाचल प्रदेश के कुछ हिस्सों पर चीन ने वर्ष 1962 में जो विवाद पैदा किया था, जिसे हम नेफा के रूप में जानते हैं, चीन ने उस विवाद को समाप्त नहीं किया हैं ठीक है, मैत्री बढ़ रही है। वर्ष 1962 में हिंदी-चीनी भाई भाई का बहुत जोर से नारा चला था, लेकिन 1962 में चीन ने आक्रमण किया। पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों से मैत्री हो, अच्छी बात है और पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों में शांति कायम हो, अच्छी बात है। इससे समृद्धि बढ़ेगी, आंतरिक सुरक्षा होगी तो विकास, संपन्नता बढ़ेगी, लेकिन यह जो हमने 1962 में भोगा, तिब्बत को भी हमने नहीं बचाया, जो तिब्बत हमारा बफर स्टेट था, वह चीन का अंग हो गया और 1962 में हमारी शर्मनाक हार हुई।

उपसभापति महोदय, सेना के आधुनिकीकरण की बात लगातार वर्ष 1962 से चलती आ रही है और आज तक हो रही है, लेकिन हम सेना को बहुत ही सशक्त और आधुनिक अभी तक नहीं बना पाए हैं। सकल घरेलू उत्पाद की बात शर्मा जी ने की है। यह बात ठीक है कि पाकिस्तान का जो सकल घरेलू उत्पाद है, वह सेना पर हमसे ज्यादा साढ़े पांच प्रतिशत खर्च करता है, लेकिन पाकिस्तान और चीन, दोनों हमारे पड़ोसी राष्ट्र हैं और हम सेना पर ढाई प्रतिशत सकल घरेलू उत्पाद का खर्च करते हैं। हमारा वर्ष 2004-2005 में 70 हजार करोड़ रुपए का जो बजट उपबंध था, उसमें बढ़ोत्तरी हुई 83 हजार करोड़ रुपए, तो वाहवाही लूटी जा रही है कि 83 हजार करोड़ की वृद्धि

6.00 P.M.

हुई है। इसमें यह भी खबर छपी है कि 6000 करोड़ रुपए की जो वृद्धि है, वह आधुनिकीकरण पर खर्च नहीं होगी बल्कि जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं और सेना के जवान हैं, उनको जो वेतन मिलना है, उनके वेतन में बढ़ने वाला जो महंगाई भत्ता है और वेतन वृद्धि है, उस पर यह 6000 करोड़ रुपए खर्च होंगे। महोदय, इसमें एक बात यह अच्छी की गई है कि जो DRDO है, उस पर 20 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि की गई है, जिसमें और वृद्धि करने की आवश्यकता है।

महोदय, अभी माननीय सदस्य ने आयुध कारखाने की चर्चा की। उसमें जो बजट उपबंध था, उसमें कमी कर दी गई है और इसे 582 करोड़ से 417 करोड़ कर दिया गया है, लेकिन डिफेन्स रिसर्च के मामले में, DRDO के मामले में 20 प्रतिशत वृद्धि की गई है, जो बहुत मामूली वृद्धि है, करीब साढ़े चार सौ करोड़ रुपए की वृद्धि की गई है। पिछले तीन वर्षों की चर्चा यहां हुई है कि सेना के आधुनिकीकरण के लिए बजट में जो उपबंध किया गया था, वह पैसा लैप्स हो जाता है, पैसा सरेंडर कर दिया जाता है। यह पैसा क्यों सरेण्डर करता है, क्यो लैप्स होता है? एक तरह का सुझाव पहले भी आया था, महोदय, कि रेलवे का पैसा लैप्स नहीं करता। रेलवे का बोर्ड है, सेना का बोर्ड नहीं हो सकता, लेकिन सेना में रिवोल्विंग फंड हो ताकि पैसे को खर्च करने का प्रोसेस कंटीन्यूस रहे और एक वित्तीय वर्ष समाप्त होने के बाद दूसरे वित्तीय वर्ष में पैसा लैप्स न करे, सरेंडर करने की नौबत न आए। तो सरकार को, माननीय प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय को यह विचार करना चाहिए कि जो बजट उपबंध होता है, उसमें वह पैसा खर्च होना चाहिए।

महोदय, प्रतिरोधक क्षमता हमको सुनिश्चित करनी है। हम परमाणु सम्पन्न राष्ट्र हो गए हैं, यह ढिंढोरा पीटा जा रहा है, पाकिस्तान भी परमाणु सम्पन्न राष्ट्र होने का ढिंढोरा पीट रहा है, लेकिन परमाणु सम्पन्न राष्ट्र होने के बावजूद भी जब पाकिस्तान को एफ-16 विमान मिलते हैं तो हमारी चिंता बढ़ती है। हमारी चिंता बढ़नी स्वाभाविक है। अमेरिका की चर्चा लोगों ने की है। चीन से जितना खतरा हमको आज नहीं है, पाकिस्तान से जितना खतरा नहीं है, खतरा है दोनों से, लेकिन उससे ज्यादा खतरा अमेरिका से है। अमेरिका से इसलिए खतरा है कि पाकिस्तान को 'सीटो' का मैम्बर अमेरिका ने बनाया। जब प्रशासक की बहाली की बात चल रही थी तो 'सीटो' का मैम्बर, 'सेंटो' का मैम्बर अमेरिका ने बनाया। पाकिस्तान की हथियार मुहैया की चिंता को दूर अमेरिका ने किया और आज भी पाकिस्तान को हथियार लगातार मुहैया कराने का अमेरिका वचन दे रहा है। आखिर कब तक हम विश्व मार्किट से हथियार खरीदते रहेंगे? इसलिए हमारी प्रतिरोधक क्षमता मजबूत हो और न सिर्फ हमारा आधुनिकीकरण हो, बल्कि सेना का सशक्तिकरण हो और इसके लिए हमारा पहला सुझाव होगा कि जो डीआरडीओ है, डिफेंस रिसर्च है, उसमें बजट उपबंध को बढ़ाया जाए। दूसरा हमारा सुझाव है कि आयुध कारखाना के उपबंध में जो कटौती की गई है, आयुध कारखाना के उपबंध को बढ़ाया जाए। हमारा अगला सुझाव है कि सेना में डिफेंस पर 83,000 करोड़ का उपबंध है, यह ठीक है कि हमारा इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर देश में कमजोर है, हमें उसे

आंतरिक रूप से मजबूत करना चाहिए, गरीबी दूर करनी चाहिए, लेकिन देश की सुरक्षा सिर्फ सीमा से जुड़े हुए मामलों को लेकर नहीं है बल्कि आंतरिक सुरक्षा भी है, छद्म युद्ध है, आतंकवाद है। इसलिए आगामी बजट में जो शर्मा जी ने कहा है इलेवंथ फाइव ईयर प्लान, मैं इलेवंथ फाइव ईयर प्लान की इनकी बात का समर्थन करता हूं कि 10वें फाइव ईयर प्लान में विशेष जोर नहीं दिया गया, सरकार को जो ऐक्सरसाइज़ करनी चाहिए थी, नहीं की गई, लेकिन एक लाख हजार करोड़ रुपया प्रति वर्ष सेना पर खर्चा हो, चाहे पैसे का जुगाड़ कहीं से भी करना पड़े। सेना को, डिफेंस को मजबूत करना है, प्रतिरोधक क्षमता बढ़ाना है, सशक्तिकरण करना है, आधुनिकीकरण करना है और डीआरडीओ को जितना मजबूत किया जाना चाहिए, उतना मजबूत करना है।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The last speaker is Mr. Manoj Bhattacharya.

Mr. Bhattacharya, you have seven minutes.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal): Sir, Mr. Anand Sharma had initiated the discussion, and I am concluding it.

Sir, I would like to thank you for giving me opportunity. However, Sir, I am a little worried as to how I should begin and from where I should begin. I am saying it because with regard to other Departments or other Ministries, we have received some Annual Reports, but, unfortunately, as far as Ministry of Defence is concerned, I have not received any Annual Report. I do not know whether other hon. Members have received it or not. But today when I enquired about it from the counter, they have said that no report has come. When I approached the Library in this regard, the Librarian told me that 'I can give you the last year's report, but this year's report has not reached the library.' So, in fact, I was in a little quandary how to begin or what should be the exact source of my information about Defence.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then, you can conclude early.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: I do not know whether it has been reserved as a highly classified document or it is a mistake on the part of the Ministry.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): This is an unfortunate thing that the Annual Report has not been submitted to the Parliament. But by tomorrow or by Monday, it will be submitted. However, the report of the Department-related Parliamentary Standing Committee on Defence has been submitted, and those reports are available, but unfortunately, the Annual Report could not be submitted.

श्री मंगनी लाल मंडल: महोदय, स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की रिपोर्ट हम मांगने के लिए गए थे तो लाइब्रेरी में कहा गया कि वह अभी तक प्राप्त नहीं हुई है।

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, I would like to make here one point. With all due respect to the hon. Minister from whom I have also learnt so many things about the parliamentary procedure. So far as Rajya Sabha is concerned, we discuss the functioning of the Ministry.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Yes, correct. You are absolutely correct.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Therefore, I think, the... (*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No; he has .. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: No that is why I am saying that it is a lapse on the part of the Ministry. The report should have been made available before the Members take part in the discussion. It is absolutely correct. There is no doubt in it, and I regret that. I apologise to the House in this regard because the Annual Report should be made available to the Members so that on the basis of that they can discuss the subject in both the Houses of Parliament.

Even for discussion on the demands and for voting, they need to review the Annual Report. There is no denial of the fact that there has been a lapse. I agree that there has been a lapse on the part of the Ministry of Defence and I am sorry for that.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Sir, I express my thanks to the hon. Minister. A very good parliamentarian that he is, he has accepted the fault and has rightly followed the norms of the Parliament. But that does not help me in coming out of the problem... (*Interruptions*)...Even I consulted the library. The hon. Minister has rightly said that the report of the Department-related Parliamentary Standing Committee is available in the library. I had to go to the library. I asked for the report and I was told that the report would be given to me.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, if you could just yield for a moment, through the Chair, I just wish to make a point. I think it should be taken note of, and perhaps, it should also be taken up with the hon. Speaker. What is happening is that the reports that are available are much in short supply. This is the case with all the Standing Committee reports.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall take care of that.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, we have been working hard to prepare the

Standing Committee Reports and adequate number of reports are not available. They are not just meant for the hon. Members for the purpose of speaking in the House. We intend that there should be a good public debate, and in the media also there should be debates on these reports. So, I think that corrective steps need to be taken and for that, Presiding Officers of both the House should taken initiatives.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Sir, I wish to thank Shri Nilotpal Basu; he has rightly pointed out the difficulties. I also faced the same situation in the library. They said they cannot spare the copy and that I have to read it there itself and not down the points. I tried to do so with my limited capacity and limited time; till this morning I was waiting for the report.

Sir, I find in the Budget Estimate for 2004-05 that the percentage of Defence expenses, as compared to the GDP, is the highest in 2004-05. I won't take much of your time. Sir. I have the figures and I find that from 1994-95 to 2004-05, the allocation to the Defence Budget is 2.51 per cent of the total GDP, the Gross Domestic product. In that allocation, I find, Sir -- and it is quite interesting to note -- that increase in Defence Ordinance factories is minimal. What is quite agonising to me is that R&D has been paid the least attention. There is no increase in the R&D expenditure. The capital outlay has gone up by almost two-fold; there is almost more than 100 per cent increase from Rs. 16,906.32 crores to Rs. 33,482.85 crores. I really did not understand this.

I am a little afraid of commenting on Defence. Defence is usually a very sensitive subject and people at large consider it to be a holy cow. It is not easy to speak on defence preparedness, because for the last five to six years that I have been in this House, whenever I have raised this point, they were trying to put us on the mat saying that we are antination, we are traitors. I am sure that that very psyche has changed now. Nobody would call me a traitor now if I comment adversely about the Defence Budget.

To my mind, Sir, the increase in Defence Budget has been enormous; as compared to the last year's budget, the increase is about 17.90 per cent and as compared to the year before last, it is an increase of 27.69 per cent. Whereas, in the other social sectors where we are more committed, where the United Progressive Alliance Government is also more committed, the increase has not been to that extent. Personally, I am not convinced with this idea that Defence preparedness is a deterrent to war . I do not believe it. Defence preparedness cannot be termed as deterrent to war. We have the experience of 1998. In 1998, Pokharan-II explosion took place. There was jingoism. Jingoism was to the maximum. The NDA, the

BJP in particular, and other wings such as RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, all these Communalist forces,started saying that this is the power of India possesses. This is a Hindu Bomb. What was our experience? They were saying that this is a deterrent. This possession of the atom bomb is a deterrent to the perceptible threat from Pakistan. But what was our experience the very next year? It was perhaps exploded on 11th or 12th May, 1998, and in 1999 we had Kargil war. So, it is an international experience of ours also that it is not a deterrent to war. What my predecessor speakers like Shri Jibon Roy or Shri Shahid Siddiqui told, I also personally agree with them that we should be concentrating more on the social development of ours. The nation must get rid of the poverty; the nation must get rid of the illiteracy; the nation must get rid of hunger, and the nation must get rid of other social folly. By doing this, we can prepare the nation as a very strong nation. Of course, I am not against Defence preparedness, but I can say that Defence preparedness has no end. There is no cut off point of it because the internaitonal market—as Dr. Jalan has told and I am also convinced about that the arms market is extremely imperfect. As such, the international market is imperfect, and over and above, this defence market is terribly imperfect. You know the Denel situation, the Denel gun of South Africa and how fast they have been. The morning the news is published in the newspapers of ours, the same day we get the news that Denel's CEO has been expelled. I would like to ask the clarification from the hon. Minister that up till now, could you fix the responsibility either in the Defence Forces, either in the Armed Forces, or in the Defence Ministry as to who is the bureaucrat, who was the connection of that gentlemen who used to act on behalf of Denel and who has made in-roads for Denel guns during the last regime. How will you be able to fix the responsibility or some persons on some person? Has the Defence Ministry resorted to some action against them whether they are in bureaucracy of somewhere else because I cannot simply think that somebody is above board? Nobody is above board. My friend, Prof. P.J. Kurian, has rightly said that in democracy nobody should be considered abvoe board. It is an eternal vigilance, and when we resort to eternal vigilance we must ask questions. What has happened to those connections of Denel gentleman who has been caught to be sitting in Kolkata in a meeting of the Ordnance Factory Board? This clarification I must get.

Sir, my another point is related to the defence personnel or people who have served the Armed Forces for, say, nine or ten years. Those who retire before the stipulated time, they do not get any pension. Can some arrangement be made, at least, to honour them so that they do not die of

starvation? Thirdly, the ecology and environment is extremely important, and today it is considered as a very important component.

Can those trained people, who have been trained in the Armed Forces and who have retired prematurely, be used by forming a Corps as environment guards or wildlife guards? Today, we here the Sariska issue, and I do not know whether it is completely subsided or not. But we know that lions are disappearing, the tigers are disappearing, a number of species and a number of genus are disappearing. Can a Corps be raised with those retired Army personnel? They can also be provided with some jobs with some remuneration or some honorarium.

Sir, in defence production, we have already allowed or we have already decided 26 per cent of Foreign Direct Investment and also private sector participation. Have we taken a definite decision or made a definite time-bound programme to augment the existing defence production facilities in Ordnance Factories? Sir, in one Standing Committee's report I have seen and I am constrained to note that the Bharat Dynamics Limited is the only manufacturer of missiles in India and the component production division of the Bharat Dynamics Limited is lying idle since March, 2004, and, that the BDL, the Bharat Dynamics Limited will continue to face this under-utilisation of capacity for another two years till new projects are taken up. Now, when will these new projects be taken up? When we are accommodating or inviting the private participation and also the Foreign Direct Investments, when these facilities are to be augmented, why should we keep our own facilities idle and allow the private sectors to go for the plunder? I am convinced that sometimes they also go for the plunder. Sir, the Defence Procurement Board should also be properly augmented. I don't share the idea of Dr. Jalan—even though they say it is a noble idea, and, as a democrat I must share the idea—because I don't like to empower the bureaucracy without any question I don't like to empower the bureaucracy like that. I know Dr. Jalan is nodding his head. But, Sir, personally I feel that political heads must be there. They must owe the responsibility because political heads would be answerable to us. I would not like to see that the Parliament does not have any right to raise any question about Defence production or Defence procurement. (*Interruptions*). The responsibility must be fixed on the political heads and political heads cannot be blind and cannot simply allow the bureaucracy to function. *(Interruptions)*

DR. BIMAL JALAN: Sir, the political heads are responsible for every decision taken by the bureaucracy. When the Cabinet Secretary decides

or the National Security Council decides something, they are responsible, they are accountable to the Parliament. But they don't sign every chit, and, every cup of tea that is consumed in the Ministry of Finance or Defence does not get approved by him. But according to the Parliamentary practice, he is responsible for what kind of deals the Ministry of Defence does. He does not have to keep all the accounts. He decides the policy; he decides the strategy. But in the name of democracy, we should not defend it; in the name of politics, we should defend it, and, not in the name of democracy. Thank you.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Sir, politics is democratic. So, I am not going to....(*Interruptions)*...

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us not go into all that. They are his views and you have different views...(*Interruptions)*....This is democracy. .....(*Interruptions)*.....

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Sir, we can have a discussion on it afterwards. he is a very revered person, a highly respectable man .....(*Interruptions)*.....

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: We entirely disagree....(*Interruptions)*.....

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Okay, you are disagreeing, but we can continue our discussion privately, and not on the floor of the House.

Sir, I would like to conclude with the words that we should be extremely cautious. Defence should not be doubted upon. Today in the country, because of scandals like Coffin scandal, Kargil scandal, procurement scandals, and becasue of the presence of Denel representative in the way he was present in Kolkata, what should viewed as a respite to the people, as a department that would protect the interests of the people, that department should not be doubted by the people. But, unfortunately, because of the acts of omission and commission, it is happening. I don't want to name anybody. Of course, the opposition is not present over here and they won't shout at me. But, we should be very serious so that Defence is put above board, and, the Defence personnel or the Defence Ministry are not unnecessarily accused of malpractices and corruption. I don't know because I am not a man from Defence but I hear when people say, and, even the Defence people say that the Defence purchases are full of corruption, and it is a common belief in our nation. Defence has always been doubted and corruption is institutionalised in Defence. I am sure that one of the most experienced Ministers in the UPA

Government, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, will adequately take care of this problem, and, in the days to come, we shall not have to hear that this sort of corruption is taking place. With these words, I thank you once again for having given me the opportunity to speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Nilotpal Basu, you are informed by the Secretariat that sufficient number of reports are available at the Publication counter. The Members have to collect it from there. Adequate number of reports are available. Reports are available at the Publication counter for all the Members of Parliament. That is what I have been informed. The General Discussion on the Working of the Ministry of Defence is over. The hon. Minister for Defence will reply to the debate tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow, the 28th April 2005.

The House then adjourned at twenty minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 28th April 2005.

MGIPMRND—1284RS—15-09-2005